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[For additional information on the thārfiqth (pl. thārfíqth) or dharfiqth, a form of clan-community composed of extended families (jājghū) and including the families of all the sons of an original founding ancestor, see also Category 618.]

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

The houses are widely scattered up and down the mountains, each one being at least three hundred meters away from the next. Its construction and situation reflect the independent spirit of its owner. Almost always isolated to at least this extent, such a dwelling is usually the residence of a man, his unmarried brothers an sisters, his wife or wives, and his unmarried children. This is only part of the family; the rest of it, living in similar houses the usual distance away, includes the man's married brothers and their wives and unmarried children. Thus the family, as it is know in Aith Wuryāghil, may consist of anywhere from one to ten separate households, and may number as many as fifty people, spread over three to four generations. Once the sons marry, they usually set up housekeeping on their own, but always within the family circle; when the daughters marry, they go to live with their husbands' people, for this is a patrilineal and patrilocal society. This extended family or *jājghū* (pl. *ijūjgha)* is a cooperative economic unit; the affiliations of in-marrying wives are with it rather than with the families from which they came. Once the last surviving member of the oldest generation dies off, the old *jājghū* splits into as many new *ijūjgha* as there were married brothers originally.

Ownership of property is concentrated in the hands of the elders of the *jājghū*, who parcel it out to their married sons on a provisional or on a permanent basis. If the former, the land goes back for redistribution among all the sons after the father's death; if the latter, the favored son needs a document signed by two *'adūl* proving that the land is his. If there are few sons, the eldest, if he is a sensible and honest man, is usually chosen to act as property administrator for all, when the father dies; but with many sons, the amount of land becomes too difficult to administer as a single unit; quarrels may develop, in which case the land is divided up among the sons, each one looking after his own share. The inheritance system follows standard Islamic practice, with the portion of one son equalling that of two daughters. If daughters whose share of the family property includes land marry into other villages or political sections, they are often induced to sell out their own holdings to their brothers so that the land will remain securely in the hands of the family. These are

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

the essential features of the *jājghū* as an extended family group but its importanoe in the total social structure is far overshadowed by a larger and more durable unit called *thārfīqth* (pl. *thārfīqīn*).

This grouping, a form of clan-community, is an amplification of the *jājghū* by inclusion of the families of *all* the sons of the original founder-ancestor, not just of one of them (which constitutes the *jājghū*). This ancestor is apt to be at least three or four ascending generations removed from the speaker, if not more; he is the speaker's furthest remembereb ascendant in the male line and the man from whom the *thārfīqth* takes its name. Within the *thārfīqth*, the various *ijujgha* form its componet parts. Thus, in the *thārfīqth* of Iḥaddūshen or Aith Ḥaddūsh in the village of of Aith Mūsā u 'Amar (Aith 'Alī), the component *ijūjghā* are the families of 'Alī, Sa'īd, Muḥammādi, Muḥand and 'Abdallāh, all sons of Ḥaddūsh, the common ancestor of all; in the *thārfīqth* of Aith Sa'īd in the same village the *ijūjgha* are the families of Ḥmid, 'Aisā and 'Abdallāh. A *thārfīqth* may have a depth of five to nine generations from its ancestral head to its youngest living member; it may number some 200 living people, distributed throught ten to twenty households. In general, it constitutes a separate barrio or *ḥauma* in a village; its political existence as such is undeniable, for the village council members (*izdīfen*, sing. *azdīf*, «head») are the elders of each *thārfīqth*. Not all of these elders are kin, however, for it is unusual, as we shall see, for all the *thārfīqīn* in one village to be related to each other.

Preferred marriage takes the form of exogamy between the *ijūjgha* and endogamy within the *thārfīqth*. Instances of parallel or cross cousin marriages of the Arab pattern may be spotted in most large genealogies, but they are rare; on the other hand, exogamous marriages into other *thārfīqīn* in the same village or in the same political section are frequently contracted. Marriages into other political sections or into other tribes are less common; these are usually contracted by men of influence for political reasons and in the old days such unions formed the basis of a complicated network of alliance systems called *liff* (pl. *lifūf*), which will be given extensive treatment further on. Weddings usually take place when the boy is sixteen to seventeen years old and the girl fourteen to fifteen.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

The *thārfīqth* is bound together not only by recognized kinship ties, but by those of common interest as well. The strongly cohesive character of the group as a social and an economic unit is reinforced by the institution of the levirate, in which a man marries his brother's widow and by that of the sororate, in which a widower marries his wife's sister; but there is no sororal polygyny, which is forbidden by Islām. The frequency with which the levirate, in particular, occurs can probably be correlated with the prevalence of blood feuds in the Rīf; it was a strong factor in reducing to a minimum disturbances of equilibrium within the group caused by the loss of one of its members. Polygyny in Aith Wuryāghil appears to been more often a result of the function of the levirate than a matter of personal choice, for most Wuryāghlis are monogamous through economic necessity; (7) the only cases of polygynous marriages which I know of personally are, generally speaking, those of important tribal functionaries: *jārīs, muqaddams, shaikhs, qā'ids* and *qāḍīs*. The status of women is much the same as in other tribal areas of the Muslim world; in day to day life, the wife is her husband's companion in the house and in the fields, and in the old days she even followed him into battle if necessary. She is given maximum consideration during motherhood, particularly when she presents sons to her spouse to continue the martial tradition of the group. Although she goes about unveiled, her husband is exceedingly jealous, and adultery caught in the act is still punishable by death.

The size and power of the *thārfīqth* is augmented by landless strangers who have emigrated from their own villages or tribes or fled from them because of some crime they have committed. These strangers contract work as *ikhammāsen* for the *jājghū* heads, and in time they may marry the latters' daughters. In this case the incipient *jājghū* which is formed when children are born is matronymic, taking the name of its mother rather than of its father because of his lack of prestige; rules of residence are then matrilocal, by the same token.

(7) Coon, Carleton Stevens: **Tribes of the Rif**, Harvard African Studies, vol. IX, Cambridge, Mass., 1931. Coon gives awar (properly axwar), or «veins», and ighs, or «bones», corresponding to jajghu and tharfiqth respectively, as the fundamental Riffian social units. The difference between his terminology and mine may be due to the fact that the bulk of his data comes from Giznaya. In Aith Wuryaghil the word ighs refers only to a bone in the body and emphatically not to a social grouping.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

618 596 Although a *jājghū* of this type could take no part in the governmental activities of the village in which it was located, it had to assume as full responsibilities as the other, native *ijūjgha* in time of war. As many of the new *ijūjgha* considered this an unfair arrangement, they often broke away from the parent *thārfiqth* to found the nuclei of new *thārfiqīn* of their own. All the families in the villages of Bū Zdūr and Marrūwī, and most of those of Thirkuzīn, in Aith 'Abdallāh, are of this type; they are still considered by the locals as foreigners from Aith 'Ammarth, although they banded together long ago to found a new *thārfiqth* of their own, Aith Ḥandu Dāwūd, which has now grown into a *farīqath* or canton.

In the Wuryāghlī sense of being a «whole family», the internal solidarity of the *thārfiqth* is greatly strengthened not only by the kin ties of the native members, but by the fictional relationship of the stranger accretions as well. Thus, while the individual *ijūjgha* of a *thārfiqth* may be small in number of personnel, the *thārfiqth* as a whole can usually supply some fifty men of age to fast during Ramaḍān, therefore being capable of bearing arms in addition. It was the *thārfiqth* and not the *jājghū* which functioned as the unit of vengeance, as the unity of the whole family was an absolute necessity for its continued existence. Although murders within the *thārfiqth* 578 682 did occur, they were very rare and considered unnatural crimes; the 618 local holy man, *sharīf* or *murābiṭ* was brought around at once to 596 appease the bereaved and to act as moderator, and the offenders were either killed or exiled immediately to prevent a feud from spreading. To date, I know personally of only one case of one man killing another in the same *thārfiqth* (in Tharwa n Muḥammādi 'Alūsh, Aith Yūsuf u 'Alī): he was instantly shot by one of the sons of the dead man, and as he himself had no sons or brothers to carry on the feud, the problem ended then and there. Equilibrium was completely reestablished when the killer married his victim's sister, his own parallel cousin.

618 628 Each *thārfiqth*, however, was usually at war with its neighbors. Minor quarrels over ownership of land or of irrigation water could and did lead to blood feuds of such extraordinary savageness that on some occasions they did not stop until one or the other of the participating families was completely wiped out. The smaller the group,

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2) (The author's) concept of "groups": a) group of blood ties (i.e. kin group)--family ajgu or "ascending ramus" (read "lineage branch")[20] and dharfiqth or "family group" (read "lineage"); b) social group--jma'ath: "fraction" or canton [21] (khums, rba')[22] and tribe or dhaqbitsh; c) political group--liff or alliance; d) religious group--tariqa or religious brotherhood, and murabitic families (saints); and e) economic group--rural lands and property: storehouses[23], markets, Jews, "beneficial institutions"[24].

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Rifians are thus grouped into three "associations" (i.e. levels) of kin groups: 1) hearth or (nuclear) family or dhaddarth[25]; 2) "ascending ramus" or ajgu (lineage branch); and 3) "family group" or dharfiqth (patrilineage).

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3) The Nuclear Family or Hearth:--This is formed by the union of a man, a woman and their (unmarried) children, and it should be looked at from both the conjugal and filial standpoints. From a

594 595 183 [554]

conjugal standpoint, it may be composed of a man and his four wives (and unmarried children). But Rifians are polygynous only in theory; in practice, only the well-to-do (such as shaikhs) are polygynous, and even they seldom have more than two wives. A poor man only tends to take a second wife if he has to, if, for example, he has divorced the first one for not bearing him any sons. The function of polygyny

595 182 [181]

is to produce sons in order to prevent the extinction of the family in a society where the major law is "that of the strongest"[26], as well as to produce a sufficient number of male children to take care of agricultural tasks. "Oriental sensuality" is not a factor here, in any way.

562 428 [421] [361] Women are always considered as minors[52]. They have no property and do not, in practice, inherit. It would never even occur to a woman to ask for her portion of the inheritance; this is, indeed, very logical in a rural and bellicose society (whose settlement morphology consists of) dispersed dwellings, for otherwise it would 562 have been impossible to defend a woman against bold attacks. She can only take refuge in either her husband's house or that of her agnates. But women wear new clothes, sing, and dance, etc., at weddings, and at least they seem happy; and they are able to plague their husbands in many, many ways.

596 613 4) Jajgu (pl. ijujga--so-called in Aith Waryaghar; jij, pl. ijajjen, "wall-peg",--also, alliteratively, "penis"--in Aith 'Ammarth and Igzinnayen; and azwar, pl. isuran, "vein",--also, alliteratively, "penis" in the Eastern Rif):--This is the most difficult social unit to study, because of its intermediacy[53]. It is one of the "family branches"[54] (i.e. a branch of a dharfiqth or patri lineage). I 596 613 really cannot say more than this because informants, also, are unable 114 to explain it properly. In my earliest notes, it appeared to me to be a uterine descent group (SIC!). If a man had agnatic descendants from three wives, he thus produced three "branches" of which he was the "trunk". I now (1935) believe this to be the case, but am not completely sure, for if a man who has only one wife has three sons, these also, as points of descent, form (the bases of) three ijujga. In any case, it is understood that branches or ijujga originate from each type (i.e. point of descent), but I feel that the more important category is that originating from a different mother; and, although

596 613 114 in her role in the family the wife does not count nor is her name perpetuated, there is no doubt that the blood-tie is different, as among our "brothers" and "half-brothers", and I therefore believe this interpretation to be correct.[55]

In any event, the jajgu is an important social grouping, as such in questions of succession, inheritance and collective responsibility as in the division of benefits, fines and communal property. These questions are simple enough for a Rifian in his own mind; and he thinks the question of what jajgu or jma'ath he belongs to such a simple one that he is astonished if the investigator asks him why. To this he does not readily give an explanation; furthermore, even if he (himself) wants to learn, he sees no benefit in teaching (others). He understands his own affairs up to the precise limit which is necessary for him in order to safeguard his own rights and interests. Beyond this point, he is not interested.[56]

596 613 [623] If the jajgu head is incapable of representing his group properly, there is always someone whose courage or polemical attitude may result in his being the spokesman. The headman of the jajgu is called aziddif or aziddjif (pl. iziddifen or iziddjifen,[57] literally "head"), and, with other such headmen, the jma'ath or council[58] of the elementary social unit is formed. These iziddjifen are thus the authentic representatives of the blood or kin groups which in Rifian are called dharfiqth (pl. dharfiqin), or "family group" (i.e. lineage).

613 5) Dharfiqth (pl. dharfiqin):--...When a Rifian says, "I am of the dharfiqth of so-and-so"[59], he means that so-and-so, in his own memory, is (usually) his most remote genealogical ascendant (on a step-by-step

613 a single dharfiqth may contribute to the formation of several jma'th-s,
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623 even in different tribes. And thus the jma'th of Aith Waryaghar is an agglomeration of dharfiqin without known relationship to each other.[63]

623 The iziddjifen have well-defined functions within the above
613 groups (e.g. jajgu and dharfiqth), such as the distribution of work,
[596] payment and benefits (barley to the fqih, rations to the poor, reception of guests, fines, irrigation turns, participation in communal property, etc.), and formation of the opinion which their delegate to the outside world has to express, as well as support for him in the viewpoints he is to maintain. The iziddjifen, as representative of the dharfiqin, are the primordial element in the "play" of the jma'th.

D) Position of Women:

562 A Kabyle can do what he likes with his wife except make her
182 a corpse, while a Rifian considers her as precious coin in the can-
171 cellation of blood debts, and a Berber from the Atlas Mountains regards her as a precious offering in his request for an alliance[64], when the insecurity of the social grouping made it mandatory to look for friends to reinforce it.

562 The sad (Blanco's term) condition of women is most clearly
627 revealed in reprisal and in the norms which regulate it, such as
628 their devaluation, pre-Islamic in character (sic), revealed through the exemption from the act of vengeance of a husband who kills his wife;...North Africa is an area where women can be killed, and the blood-price (Arabic diya, Rifian ddiyith) is half that for a man.....

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

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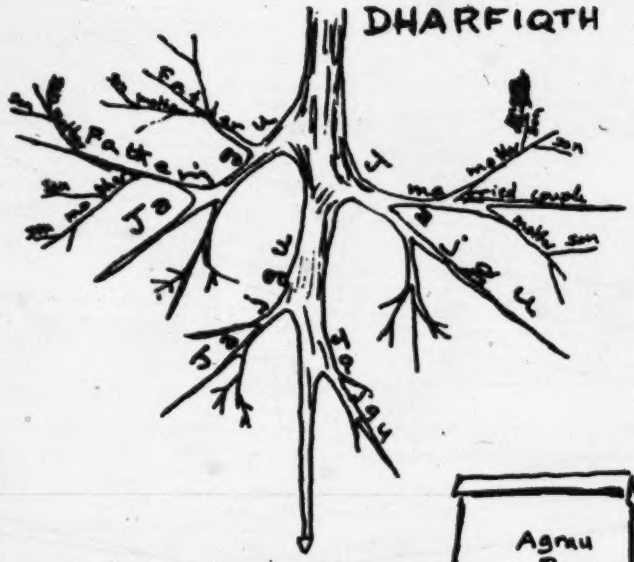

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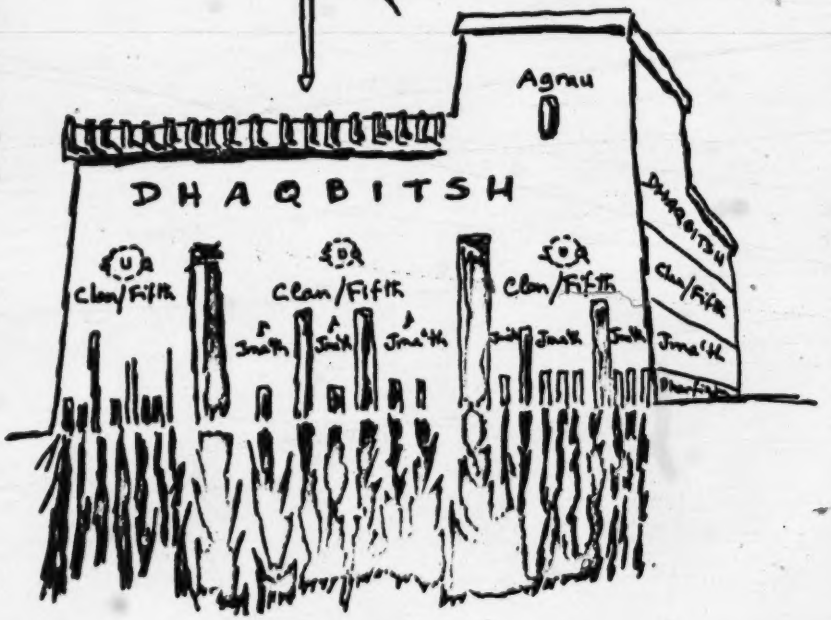

[P. 127-A]

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

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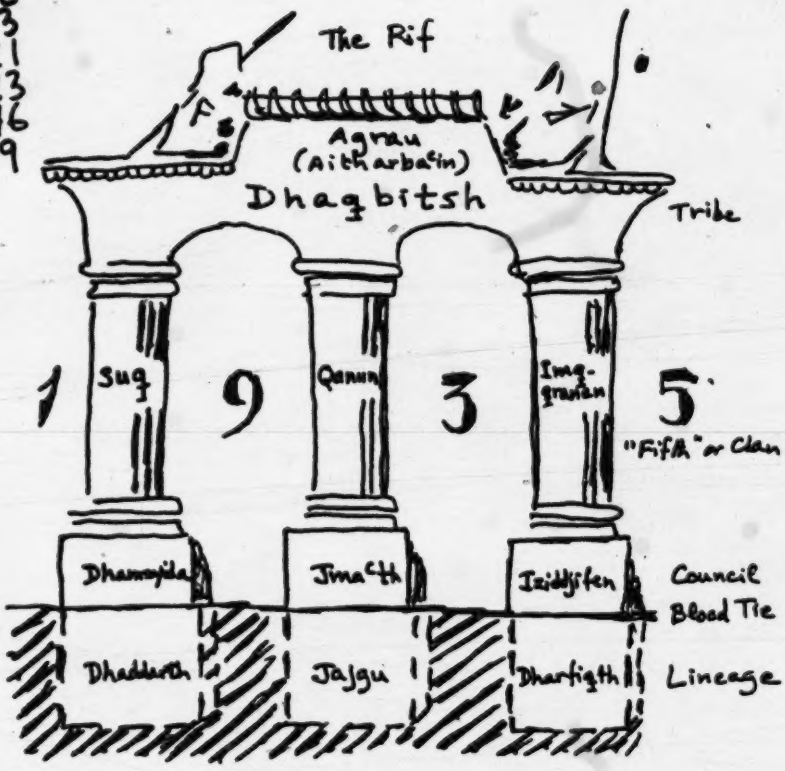

Diagram of Rifian Social Structure

[P. 127-B]

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

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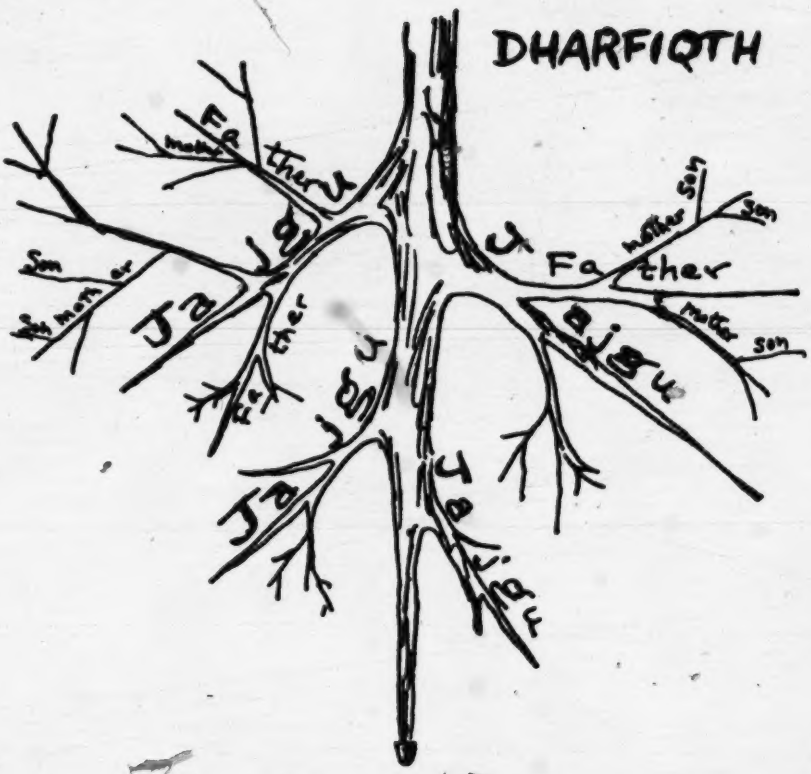

[P. 127-C]

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organization, as in the settlement morphology and house distribution of their communities, we may discern the state of disintegration which the Rifian "republics" had attained, the individual rapaciousness of each one and the anarchy of its component parts.

Diagram of Rifian Social Structure[113]

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We see in this graphic representation of the principal units in Rifian social structure how these units are originated in the lineages (Sp. original, grupos familiares) whose three ascending categories of nuclear family (Sp. or hogar, R. nubth), lineage branch (jajgu) and lineage proper (dharfiqth), with genealogical relationship as their distinguishing characteristic, form the roots or base of the Rifian arch, as diagrammed here. On reaching ground level (in an upward direction), they become transformed into three other (larger) social units whose distinctive features are expressed above and the apex of which is the tribe (dhaqbitsh), which is bound together with its autonomous institutional parts by the institutional apex of the agrau, or tribal council, the maximal assembly in the region. This arch gives us an idea of the (relative) independence (autonomy?) of its columns, representing clans sustained by the nuclei of jma'ths; and all this gives us also an idea of the whole and of the harmony reigning between this whole and its different parts, of its consistency, of its solidity, and of the importance of all these factors.

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FOOTNOTE: A

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113--A few comments must first be made on Blanco's notation of this diagram. Starting below ground level, we have, from left to right, dhaddarth (Blanco's spelling taddartz), "house"; jajgu (Blanco's spelling yasgo), "lineage branch"; and dharfiqth (Blanco's spelling tarfik), "lineage"; and further to the right, the commentary "family group" (grupo familiar). At or just below ground level, slightly above, we see the commentary, to the right and above "family group", "line of blood" (linea de sangre). At ground level, from left to right, we have dhamzyida (Blanco's spelling tamesguida), "mosque"; jma'th (Blanco's spelling yemaa); and iziddjifen (Blanco's spelling islifen), "lineage headmen"; and, further to the right, the commentary "council" (consejo). Further up, each of the three columns proper is labeled, from left to right, suq (Blanco's spelling sok), "market"; qanun (Blanco's spelling kanon), "custom", and imqqranen (Blanco's spelling imkranen), "council members (of the clan)"; and further to the right is the commentary "clan" (fraction). The apex is the dhaqbitsh (Blanco's spelling taqbilt), or "tribe", with a commentary by Blanco to the right: "tribe" (tribu); above this, in brackets, is Aitharba'in "tribal council" (Blanco's spelling ait arbain); above this, agrau (Blanco's spelling agrao), "council meeting site"; and above all, is The Rif (El Rif).

I find this diagram, with its ever upward and onward orientation, very neat as a conceptual plaything...In its theoretical and abstract niceties, it appears almost more the work of a Frenchman than that of a Spaniard. Could this possibly be attributed to Montagne's undeniable influence on Blanco's thinking? However, I seriously question the diagram on the grounds of to what extent it really reflects structural realities (insofar as a structural model of any society created by an anthropologist can be said to approximate the social realities of that society) of Rifian society; and also on the grounds that territorial vs. segmentary features of Rifian social structure, and the roles that these features play within that structure, are neither defined vis-a-vis each other nor in relation to the whole. The whole structure as Blanco gives it is, in fact, too neat, too simple, and too classic (or perhaps Doric?), like the Greek (and most unRifian) arch upon which he models it.

A,[See diagram on p.127-B--Analyst]

000 al-Krim's status quo in this respect.

Emilio Blanco, however, often expresses strong reservations 671 about the efficacy of the Shari'a in the Rif, and--like the "Berber 114 sentimentalist" he often betrays himself to be--actually chides the administration (but only in his unpublished work) for not reintroducing customary law to the Rif. Blanco's thoughts on this matter may have never reached the publication stage, but it is easy to see that he was deeply concerned about it. This is again, perhaps, a function of the (almost unconscious) influence of Montagne's Les Berbères et le Makhzen upon his work and thought.

177 5--The umbrella (Rifian rmdhar) is the hallmark, rain or shine, of 67 any important personage, actual or self-styled, in the Rif. However, 279 why Blanco brought it into this particular context, we have no idea.

[554] 6--The divergence between "Islamic Law" and "Custom" in the Rif is, [293] in an overall sense, less noticeable, certainly, than in other Berber- [114] speaking areas of Morocco, especially the Middle and Central Atlas; and, as aforementioned, we have 'Abd al-Krim to thank for the theoretically harmonious equilibrium and, indeed, blend, between the two.

That, in a general way, it is the Shari'a which is followed (more or less) in all matters pertaining to 1) land, 2) marriage, and 3) divorce, while the elusive "Custom" tends to dictate any cases which do not have to do with these conceptualizations, will soon become apparent.

181 7--For further "value judgments" on this question, see David M. Hart 113 and José R. Erola, "Rifian Morals", in Vergilius Ferm, Ed., Encyclopedia of Morals, New York; Philosophical Library, 1956, pp. 481-490.

000 8--i.e. by Western standards: another value judgment.

9--The dharfiqth, pl. dharfiqin, is, in the Rif, the patrilineal (and patrilocal) lineage par excellence, and although Blanco translates it as "grupo familiar", I shall refer to it as "lineage" henceforth, in both text and notes. Varying in both membership and depth, it may trace its 'apical" ancestor from, say, four up to as many as eight ascending generations removed from the speaker. Almost never, unless he is a sharif (in Rifian, amrabidh), or descendant of the Prophet Muhammad--whether de facto or de jure is in this case immaterial--and often not even then, can a Rifian trace his ancestry in a step-by-step progression beyond this particular apex, whatever its generational depth. The various lineage branches of the dharfiqth are also conceptualized as such by Rifians, and are called jajgu, pl. ijujga in Aith Waryaghar, and jij, pl. ijajjen in Igzinnayen and Aith 'Ammarth.

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10--Jma'th (from Moroccan Arabic jma'a) is the term generally employed to refer to all the people in a given local community. The Rifians do not use it in the sense which it is given in Arabic (as well as that accorded it by the former Spanish administration), that of "council, assembly", a sense which is more restrictive. However, the triliteral [193] root jm' in Arabic, meaning "to come together, congregate, collect, add up", is ultimately permissive of both notions, for from it is also derived the noun jum'a, "Friday", as well as jami', "mosque". One may

312 uggugen) for the source or origin of irrigation ditches and as partitions of the waters on both banks. After a dam has been set up, built to hold as much water as possible, it is converted into a ditch-head, in which the necessary outlets are made, and it thus acts as the point of origin of the principal or primary ditches which have a permanent flow of water; these are usually two or three in number. Although [183] these outlets are irregular, the Rifians say that a half or a third of the water is utilized in distribution; and although this is what happens in practice, in theory the distribution is far from perfect, as the tribesmen do not take into account the width nor the depth of the outlets; and these are improvised, if not actually variable. The primary ditches are distributed and divided in this way into secondary branches, if these are necessary, in which the irrigation turns proper are initiated, which means that they only take up water for twenty-four hours; therefore, if there are four secondary ditches, each one [805] will take up water every four days. These secondary ditches are subdivided in turn into other tertiary branches, also of periodic or intermittent flow, which do not take up water other than during the day or at night; and these originate the irrigation furrows of individuals which do not take up any water other than at certain hours, which are determined by those of the principal daily prayers.

312 591 613 596 This distribution of irrigation water is intimately linked to the Rifian lineage system, to the dharfiqth (which tends to have a 24-hour turn) and its component ijujga, and it is completed with one order of turns begun in the tertiary ditches through which if one of these ditches, during its turn, takes up water during the daytime,

312 571 [613] [596] in the following turn it will take it up at night, and with another order among the irrigators in which the first in one turn will be the last in the next. These two classes of turns, this order of irrigation, is usually set up for the whole duration; when it is begun, the irrigators draw lots with small sticks or twigs, and, at other times, it is set up differently every day. The transfer of

312 571 425 [432] [805] [435] turns is free, as is the decision of the person to be favored. Turns of water are the object of buying and selling, and are independent of land. A 12-hour turn every week (eight days) comes to some 500 or 600 duros (1939).[124]

312 [821] The hour to begin irrigating is that of the rising or setting of the sun, according to whether the turn itself is diurnal or nocturnal. The repairs depend on their importance and where they are made, the users of the branch in question contributing to these, downstream. The outlets or cuts of water are the responsibility of

312 571 805 the individual who is irrigating at the time. The duration of turns was regulated by means of natural hours, those of the prayers, and by measurements of the shade and the angle of the same with some object, in other words, a true sun dial.

312 627 628 671 Differences were resolved, as noted, by means of arbitration, valuation or assessment, or indemnification, apart from governmental intervention if this is deemed necessary, as some <u>qanuns</u> express.

312 184 The variations in the treatment of ditches require the conformity of all the ditch-users to be expressed by themselves or their representatives personally, in a meeting convoked to this effect on the sites which are to be the objects of modification, in the system or traditions of irrigation.

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It has a turn cycle of six days, which are distributed among the four lineages (dharfiqin), these in turn dividing their turns among their respective branches (ijujga), in the following order:

1st Day (24 hours): Ajdir (U Hammu; U Haddu)

2nd Day (24 hours): Ughir Iyizan (U Xikhrif; U Yihya u Musa)

3rd Day (24 hours): Ajdir (U Mis'aud u Yusif; W 'Alla w Ujdir)

4th Day (24 hours): Ughir Iyizan (U Dris; W 'Alla Ughir Iyizan)

5th Day (24 hours): Bu Mqathir

6th Day (24 hours): Zawith (Fisra and Andrusen--Ushannen--Ihaddallahan--Dharwa nd-Hajj 'Abdinnbi)[133]

On the seventh day, the sequence is repeated.

Sidd Dharga n-Bulma'iz: on the right bank. It begins, as does l-Bzimma, at Bu Harishen, crossing the river in order to divide its water with Dharga n Tfadhna, and each one of these three ditches receives one-third of the permanent flow taken in at Bu Harishen. It runs for a few kilometers and reaches the sea at Swani Waddai (Lower Swani). It moves three mills, the first belonging to the Qa'id Sriman (r-Khattabi) and 'Abdinnbi, the second to I'arhuthen and the third to Dharwa nd-Hajj Si 'Ari Ubarru.[134]

(402)

It has a turn cycle of three days for the three dharfiqin indicated, and they in turn distribute the water among their ijujga, which make them up in their own way. The turn begins at the maghrib, or sunset prayer.

(805)

1st Day (24 hours): Imhauren: Aith 'Aru Hmid
Aith 'Abdallah u Hmid
Aith Muhand u Hmid
Aith Bu Dhimmus (only when water is scarce)[135]

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2nd Day (24 hours): Dhifirasin: Aith Mhand u Yihya
Im'aruwen[136]

3rd Day (24 hours): r-Hujjaj: Aith r-'Arbi
Dharwa nd-Hajj Si 'Ari Ubarru
I'arhuthen[137]

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[596]

We thus have, in the regimen of the ditch with which we are dealing, an excellent example of Rifian solidarity, observable in the turn of the Imhauren, as in times of dryness or drought, when they need more themselves, they hasten to aid their neighbors of Aith Bu Dhimmus (who are ordinarily limited to their own turn of hours of irrigation in another ditch, that of Thafadhna, as we shall see later), although by this the other three lineage branches or ijujga only harm themselves, because they defer one of their own turns by nine more days, and even if the turn is a small one in itself, they only receive it once every nine days.

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For a better understanding of the mechanics of irrigation among Rifians, we shall study in greater detail the order which is followed in this ditch[138], for it is curious to observe how they have simplified it, in spite of the modifications which are introduced in the case of the Aith Bu Dhimmus, for example, with its intermittent (author's italics) rights, so as not to interrupt the turn in general; but, at the same time, how can we explain the miracle of how the thousands of Rifian irrigators and the labyrinth of ditches which traverse the Plain of al-Husaima do not produce any disturbances nor give rise to any incidents other than those occasioned by ignorance on the part of the Europeans, of which the Rifians of importance sometimes try to take advantage or the avarice of the fortunately few and ill-named "colons"?

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We may see the ingenuity with which they resolve the problem of irrigation during twenty-four hours in a three-day turn, the same to each of the lineages of the ordinary turn as to the nine days in the exceptional case of the Aith Bu Dhimmus.

Ordinary turn:

1st Day: Imhauren (24 hours)--Aith 'Aru Hmid

2nd Day: Dhifirasin (24 hours)--Aith Mhand u Yihya

3rd Day: r-Hujjaj (24 hours)--Aith r-'Arbi

4th Day: Imhauren (24 hours)--Aith 'Abdallah u Hmid

5th Day: Dhifirasin (24 hours)--Im'aruwen

6th Day: r-Hujjaj (24 hours)--Dharwa nd-Hajj Si 'Ari Ubarru

7th Day: Imhauren (24 hours)--Aith Muhand u Hmid

8th Day: Dhifirasin (24 hours)--Aith Mhand u Yihya (again)

9th Day: r-Hujjaj (24 hours)--I'arhuthen (I'abbuthen, probably)

10th Day: Imhauren (24 hours)--Aith 'Aru Hmid (again)

[596] And thus the turn is repeated, except for Dhifirasin, which with only two (irrigating) ijujga alternates between one and the other every time its turn comes around. We see here that in the ordinary turn the nubath (pl. of nubth, "turn") of Dhifirasin irrigate once every three days, while those of Imhauren and r-Hujjaj irrigate once every nine days. Now, if we insert Aith Bu Dhimmus into the picture, we see that Dhifirasin continues to irrigate once every three days and r-Hujjaj once every nine, both on the same day as before, while, on the other hand, because of this shift, Imhauren, to which dharfiqth the new irrigators belong[139], irrigates four out of five times once every nine days and once out of five times once every eighteen days, with the

Within the ar-rba
619 there was a council (jemas) held irregularly to discuss and
[628] settle judicial matters generally pertaining to the blood feud.
[554] Only the more important families within the ar-rba had representation on the council.

613 The first social unit which is directly reflective of kin ties is the dharfiqth. Whereas tribal and ar-rba names refer to place names generally, the dharfiqth invariably carries the name of a real person, i.e. Aith 'Abdallah or Aith al-Qasim. The members of this group consider that they have a common agnate although they may not be able to demonstrate the genealogical linkage to this ancestor. The group theoretically includes all the sons of the founding ancestor and their offspring. Some dharfiquin seem to have increased in number and power while others grew smaller either through decimation in feuds or from splintering into rival dharfiquin. Solidarity seems to have rested mainly on sentiment, and in such an explosive atmosphere this is perhaps too fragile a mechanism for maintaining agnatic descent groups.

613 The dharfiqth is made up of a varying number of jujgu
596 which are localized patrilineal extended families which may be regarded as minimal lineages. Each ijujga consists of a man, his wife or wives, his married sons and their wives and children, along with his unmarried sons and daughters. When the referent of the ijujga dies, all his sons form separate and new jujgu. The composition of the ijujga is today an idealization since few
000 households contain the above list of relatives. Neolocality is

591 Neolocality is
178 the preferred residence pattern today and matrilocality is permitted.

613 The rights and duties of these descent groups are rather
596 more fluid than is generally reported for African societies. As
602 I shall discuss in Chapter 5, the principle of patrimony does not
571 rule out other types of kinship alignment nor are kin ties the only form of relationship. Each community is made up of both kinsmen and non-kin with relations based on economic association, friendship or communal obligations.

178 In the Rif today the jural authority of the upper levels of segmentation[1] has been superseded by bureaucratic organization.
[613] However, in the lower rungs such as the dharfigth and ijuiga
[596] traditional social obligations are still extant.
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The final social unit in the Rif is the local community
621 or dchar, a neighborhood association both both kinsmen and non-kin (called douar in other Berber areas). The size of such a community varies considerably. If we take the tribe of Ibuqquyen
621 we find that it is divided into three fractions. In a survey I
619 took in 1966, the fraction of Tagidit had 14 dchars, the largest
162 having a population of 707 persons living in 114 different homesteads, while the smallest consisted of 94 persons living in 47 households. In the fraction of Axgar, the largest was 607 people living in 107 homes and the smallest was 163 people in 34 homes. In Izmourin, the most populous of the three fractions, the largest dchar had 1,509 people living in 268 homes and the smallest had 228 living in 35 homes.

[1] [i.e., the ar-rba or tribal levels--Analyst]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

In addition to a common language, certain other culture traits are shared by most Berbers. The Berber arts still differ from the Islamic arts acclimatized in Barbary. Designs on pottery, rugs, and blankets are almost entirely in geometrical patterns. Nothing could be clearer than the contrast between the lozenges and chevrons of Berber work and the complicated floral and epigraphic designs of Levantine art. The simple houses of the Moroccan highlands probably are local variants of the prevalent Mediterranean types, but the multistoried buildings of rammed-mud blocks in southern Morocco show eastern affinity. Indeed, no traveler who has seen the Moroccan *qsar* and the "skyscrapers" of southern Arabia can fail to be impressed by the similarity of the two.[14] Similarity of this sort suggests diffusion of style and techniques from a common center, possibly eastern Africa, which may also have been the main center of the "Hamitic" languages.

A few nonmaterial traits also can be associated with Berber speakers. We can still discern among them the remains of an agrarian animism. The ceremonies that seek to obtain through rain, considered as the male element, the fecundity of the soil, which represents the female, are doubtless of this category. Wherever Berber is spoken, the important events are reckoned by solar months, not by the Muslim lunar calendar.[15]

Until recently the social organization of most Berber-speaking communities differed from the Arab or Muslim order.[16] The Berber districts were characterized by extreme fragmentation into small units, each guided by ideals of independence and self-sufficiency.[17] The cell of each unit was the family. Several families formed clans, with about a hundred members who traced their descent from a common ancestor. In the regions of deep-rooted peasantry, particularly in the mountains, groups of related people were linked by means of assemblies composed of delegates from each family.[18] The function of the assembly was to regulate the tasks and taxes of the community. To ensure the execution of decisions and to facilitate relations with other assemblies, a chief, or elder (*amghar*), was appointed, but he was only the delegate of the assembly and every precaution was taken to prevent aggrandizement of his powers. A prudent rotation arranged for the representatives of the principal families to take office in turn. The territory governed by the

cians. In modified form, it is still used by the Tuareg. G. Marcy, "L'épigraphie berbère numidique et saharienne," *Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales*, 2 (1936), 123–164; F. R. Wulsin, "The Prehistoric Archaeology of North-West Africa," Peabody museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, *Papers*, 19 (1941), 111–114.

[14] Cf. the photograph of San'a in Harry Hoogstraal, "Yemen Opens the Door to Progress," *Nat. Geog. Mag.*, 101 (1952), 238, and of Tinerhir in Jean and Franc Shor, "From Sea to Sahara in French Morocco," *ibid.*, 107 (1955), 178–179.

[15] Other examples of pagan survivals in Morocco are given in three works of Edward Westermarck: *Ceremonies and Beliefs Connected with Agriculture, Certain Dates of the Solar Year, and the Weather in Morocco* (Helsinki: Akademiska Bokhandeln, 1913); *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1926); and *Pagan Survivals in Mohammedan Civilization* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1933).

[16] The remarks to follow are based upon Robert Montagne's *Les Berbères et le makhzen dans le sud du Maroc: essai sur la transformation politique des berbères sédentaires (groupe Chleuh)* (Paris: Alcan, 1930).

[17] I use the past tense because the French-sponsored *dahir* of May 16, 1930, which called for a division of Morocco into two districts, one under Qur'anic and the other under tribal law, was repealed on September 4, 1956. Under the present system the functions of the assemblies are exercised by officials appointed in Rabat.

[18] With excellent insight, Konrad Wiche, "Marokkanische Stadttypen," in *Festschrift zur Hundertjahrfeier der geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien, 1856–1956* (Vienna, 1957), p. 492, describes the Berber assemblies as *Talschaften* (valley associations).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

urban institutions are imposed by alien authorities. Such cities become parasites, drawing support from the rural countryside but offering little in exchange. The peasant population continues to look to its local markets for satisfaction of basic needs.

Hamlets versus Scattered Houses

Since they are walled, Moroccan cities begin and end abruptly. Pass through a gate and you are in the rural countryside. The type of landscape varies notably between the eastern and western parts of this zone. The basic distinction is between clustered settlements in the western areas and widely scattered houses in the Rif (fig. 15).

Clusters of ten to fifty houses make up the basic settlement pattern in Jbala, Ghmara, Sanhaja as-Srair, and along the Atlantic littoral. In these areas the

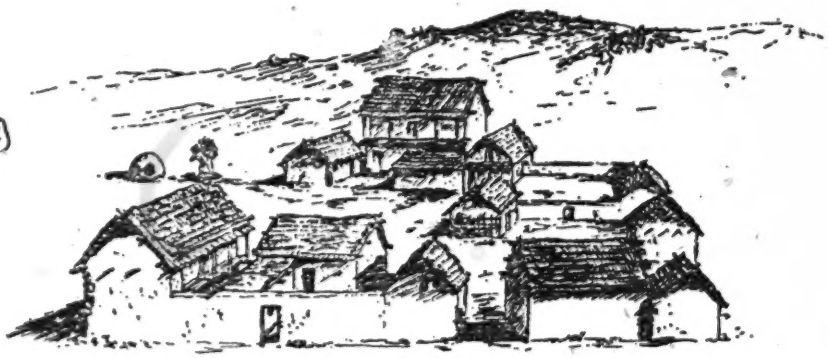

Fig. 16. Hamlet in Aith Seddath.

presence of an isolated house indicates that its owner has more than one place of residence; his first and most frequented home is generally with a cluster of several others. Isolated houses are usually of recent construction, and probably reflect the increased security introduced by the Spanish occupation. When it was no longer necessary to live close to trusted kinsmen, the more independent tribesmen settled on good land away from the ancestral hamlet.

The inhabitants of a hamlet are members of an extended family, formed of parents or grandparents, and the children of their sons. This unit does not break up unless the sons quarrel or the kin group becomes too large to be supported by the available land. Thus the basic unit of kinship, the biological family, is also the basic unit of settlement. Moroccans are averse to dividing up their land. When brothers inherit their father's land, they usually farm it jointly, and the eldest brother administers the property for all.

The growth of a hamlet follows the growth of a family. A newly married couple builds a new house, as close as possible to the husband's hamlet. Their first unit is a single hut, with a sunken area for domestic animals. As the livestock multiplies, another hut is erected to serve as a barn. When the sons of the pioneer couple marry, other huts are built adjoining the parent's home. The basic unit is extended into an L- or U- shape, and similar units are added by the grandchildren (fig. 16).